2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

ceedingly afraid of it and the woman helper wrapped it so that they would not see it. Then they picked it up with sticks and dropped it into the hole. 844

After the birth, mother and child remained in the segregation hut for a month. The mother must eat no salt until the end of the umbilical cord fell off, or the child's navel would get sore. The best food for her was gruel of cactus seeds or mesquite beans, which was thought to make her strong. She must not wash for the whole month or she would have rheumatism. According to one informant, her husband at this time used separate dishes which at other times were kept outside the house (26). The wife in the segregation hut used the same dishes she had at menstruation. 846

"When the moon had come back to the same place", she and the husband and child went through a purification ceremony. They went at dawn to a shaman who made a specialty of this ceremony and of child naming. He drew a circle on the ground and placed the mother in it with her back to the east. She held the child. The father, according to some informants, sat in the circle with her (26), according to others, on a cross marked to the south of the circle (1), or simply on the ground outside. 846 783

The shaman kept a special kind of yellow clay found mostly in Sonora. He scraped a little from the dried ball in which it was kept; mixed it with water and pounded owl's feathers and stirred it with an owl's feather. He "cleansed" the parents by dusting them off with his shaman's plumes. Then, carrying the bowl of clay and singing, he walked back and forth four times, from west to east, toward the mother and the rising sun (26), or around the circle (1). Then he had both parents and child drink from the bowl, the order varying, according to different informants. If the baby would not drink, the shaman drank a little and spat it into the baby's mouth. Then he gave the child a name which had no connection with the parents or their families, but referred to something he had dreamed. Such names were often poetic, as Boiling Wind, Hawk over Water, Dawn Singing. [553]

The woman was now considered cleansed and might go back to the family home with the baby. The shaman was paid a basket or some food.

The omission of the ceremony would make both parents and child sick. An unmarried mother must hold it, but without the father. A divorced woman went through it with the baby, while her husband went through it separately. If a woman went through it with her husband, when he was not the baby's father, the husband might die. [753] [848]

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

I did not know just when the time would be, but I knew that I felt pain when I stooped out of our little door. I said to my husband's aunt: "I think I will go to the Little House. I would not like such a dreadful thing to happen as for me to be caught inside the house in childbirth." "Well, go," she said. This was the first I had said to her or to my mother-in-law either, the whole thing being so new.

There was a gully behind our house and the Little House was on the other side of it. When I reached the near edge of that gully, I thought I had better run. I ran fast; I wanted to do the right thing. But I dropped my first baby in the middle of the gully. My aunt came and snipped the baby's navel string with her long finger nail. Then we went on to the Little House. My sisters-in-law said to me afterward: "Why didn't you tell us? We didn't know you were suffering in there. We heard you laughing." I said: "Well, it wasn't my mouth that hurt. It was my middle."

I stayed in the Little House, for that was what my father had told me to do. "When you have your first baby, don't come into the house. Stay out until the moon comes around again. Then go to the medicine man and be cleansed."

So I stayed alone there for a month, and the family brought me raw food, which I cooked. I ate no salt until the end of the baby's navel string fell off, so his navel would not be sore. Then my husband and I and the baby went to the medicine man, and he gave us all white clay to eat as he had given me when I became a maiden. But he did not give my baby a name. We were modern and I let a priest name him, Bastian.

It was nice in our house. My young brothers-in-law had married and I had their two wives to keep me company. Feather Leaves was one, and Singing Dawn. We girls did the cooking for my mother-in-law and left her to her baskets. At night when we ladled the gruel out of the pot, we all ate two and two, each married couple with one bowl, drinking by turns.

My mother-in-law managed our work. "Come," she would say, "get your carrying baskets. Let us go for food."

So we would go laughing out over the flat land to dig the roots or up in the hills to cut the cholla. I carried my baby in its cradle board on top of the carrying net. While we picked into a smaller basket, I leaned the carrying net against a tree and balanced the baby on top.

Once I was digging roots like that and I got very tired. I made a pile of earth with my digging stick, put my head on it and lay down. In front of me was a hole in the earth made by the rains, and there hung a gray spider, going up and down, up and down, on its long thread. I began to go to sleep and I said to it: "Won't you fall?"

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

561 856 that define passage from one stage to another—the birth ceremony and the girl's puberty rite—are private occasions which do not serve as announcements but merely as insurance of the well-being of the individual and his family. The terms the Papago use show their indifference to time concepts: the tiny infant is called "just born"; "child," "boy," or "girl" are used from infancy to adolescence, and "girl youth" or "boy youth" between puberty and marriage. In other words, between early infancy and marriage the Papago recognize only two stages: before and after pubescence. However, there is no more radical change in behavior patterns at pubescence than at any other time.

856 861 This distinction illustrates very well the usual child development pattern of the Papago; training is informal and leisurely, attuned to the child's natural pace and accomplished with little conscious planning. The process is continuous, with few absolute landmarks; one phase blends into and overlaps those preceding and following it. Small wonder that the Papago use biological manifestations to mark the changes.

128 Since this study is written for readers who are accustomed to the white pattern of clear age groups and because such classification facilitates comparison with child development elsewhere, the 0–4, 5–10, and 11–18 age groups will be used here. We now turn to the first phase.

BEFORE THE BABY IS BORN

163 Papago children are more widely spaced than among some Indian tribes and white groups of similar economic status. There are a few families in which a child is born every year, but, judging from census records, in most families births occur from eighteen to thirty months apart.[1] Considering the death rate among Papago children, the average is near the lower end of this range. Most of the women seem to prefer not having a child every year because they feel that they cannot adequately care for so many children and will be likely to [842] lose them. But, as noted in chapter iv, apparently most women take no contra- ceptive measures, and the taboo on intercourse for a month after childbirth no 846] longer prevails.

843 Life goes on much as usual for the expectant mother, and there appears to be little illness in connection with pregnancy. No special considerations are shown her, and the pregnant woman performs all her usual tasks, lest she have a difficult birth. On the other hand, she is not segregated or given extra duties.

Some taboos are still in force for prospective parents. They must stay away from animals that make children sick, and they must not touch animal blood. The father avoids killing rattlesnakes and rabbits, but most men no longer re-

1. This statement is qualified by the unconcern with chronology noted above.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

844 delivery is difficult, a medicine man is called in; he massages the abdomen in an effort to right the child in the womb.

After the delivery the attendants cut the cord and bathe and swaddle the baby in blankets. One of the men of the household buries the afterbirth in a deep hole outside the house.

846 After the birth the mother is not secluded in the menstrual hut as she was in the old days. She rests in bed from four to twelve days, or until she feels strong enough to resume her duties. Her first food following the birth should be a soup of roasted wheat and saguaro seeds. Until the baby has been taken to the medicine man, the mother is to eat no salt and nothing "sweet" or "sour." How strictly these rules are observed today is not known.

BIRTH CEREMONIES

852 Within three or four weeks after the infant's birth, his parents take him to a medicine man for the purification rite. At dawn of the date set by the shaman, which seems to depend on the phases of the moon, he draws a circle on the ground in which he seats mother and baby, and sometimes the father. They face east, as does the medicine man standing in front of them. The first part of his magic ritual is directed toward the rising sun. Then he turns, waves his sacred eagle feathers over the family, and gives each of them a mixture of magic white clay and water to drink. When the medicine man has given the baby a name (see chap. iv), the ceremony is concluded.

This is a simple rite and involves no elaborate preparation. As it is performed in private, only the child, the parents, and the medicine man being present, the villagers are probably unaware of the event at the time. However, it is extremely important that the rite be performed, and it is rarely omitted except by the strictest Presbyterian Papago. By this means the uncleanliness of baby and parents attendant upon birth is removed, and the health of the child and of all his relatives is safeguarded. The child who undergoes the rite will be industrious as well as strong. Even an unmarried mother, against whom feeling was rather bitter in the village because she was carrying on an affair with a married man, brought her baby to the medicine man. The father did not accompany her, but apparently the ceremony was regarded efficacious without him. However, some Papago are beginning to question the validity of the ceremony. One woman told an investigator that the Presbyterian children who had not been taken to the medicine man apparently grew up quite normal and healthy, but she then pointed to some sick children and remarked that "people said" they were not strong because their parents omitted the rite!

Since most Papago profess some Christian faith, the native birth ceremony

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

844 she takes up her abode in the hohólikaki where she remains for over three weeks. She bears her child *accroupie* assisted by her mother or elder sister; sometimes an elderly woman is specially chosen for this, acting as
846 midwife. Formerly, for six days thereafter, the food was
[262] made for the mother and brought to her, the diet for the first two days consisting of *atole blanco*, a kind of thin gruel made of maize or sometimes wheat, mixed with the seeds of the sahuaro fruit. Now, in imitation of Mexican custom, the period is extended to twenty days. The husband during this time uses a different gourd from the rest of the family when he drinks water.

553 Twenty days after the wife has returned from her
261 seclusion the medicine-man comes to the house to give the baby clay to eat and present it with a name. The clay has the same name, *pit*, as that used in pottery making, and it does not look in anywise different. In the afternoon, after having mixed a small quantity with water and placed the mixture in a sea-shell on the ground, he takes up a position east of it, while the parents, with the infant, stand to the west. He walks four times toward them, the last time hooting low like an owl. The parents have to take the drink first, then the baby. If the child is male, the medicine-man gives it to the mother first; if it is female the father drinks first. In administering the drink to the child, he also gives it a name, which the grandparents previously have agreed upon; with his eagle plumes he makes passes over the infant, and with the same object sprinkles some of the water on its chest, shoulders, and back. The advan-

he belonged, but was not forbidden to marry within it. In the same way the whole country was divided into ceremonial halves or moieties known as Buzzard and Coyote. This custom is similar to that of the Mission Indians, distant language relatives of the Papagos. But whereas the moieties of the Mission Indians forbade marriage of one moiety member with another and have given to the moiety many ceremonial duties, the Papagos know Buzzard and Coyote as names only and there are no rules or ceremonies connected with them.

Many of the old Papago ceremonies dealing with birth and death are no longer practiced but there are enough old people living so that we can at least have an account of them. A mother, about to give birth to a child, went to a separate hut kept for "dangerous women." Not only women in childbirth but women in their periods came under this heading, for the strange power of reproduction seemed to the Papagos fraught with magic and death. The new mother remained in this segregation hut for a month before she and her baby might emerge. Then the medicine man gave them both a mixture of clay to drink while he pronounced a purification formula.

Young children were continually urged to be industrious for this was the supreme Papago virtue. Boys were expected to have a dream which would tell them what career to choose and give them power to follow it. Girls usually did not dream but when they reached maturity a special ceremony was held for them. The girls were kept apart from others for four days, then bathed and brought out to dance with the whole village. Sometimes this dance continued every night for a month, and at the end of that time the strange new power which had visited the girl was thought to be tamed. Her parents soon visited the parents of an industrious youth and arranged that the two should be mated. There was no marriage ceremony other than the coming of the boy to the girl's house and taking her home with him after four days. They lived with the